

Ahmed Kamal Pasha's Approach to Transliterate Egyptian Hieroglyphs in Arabic

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Abstract

Ahmed Kamal was a pioneer native Egyptologist who made significant contributions to the study of the ancient Egyptian language, particularly through his comparative analysis of Egyptian hieroglyphs and Arabic. Kamal's efforts were groundbreaking, especially his assertion of linguistic connections between ancient Egyptian and Semitic languages. His methodology involved transliterating hieroglyphs into Arabic letters, making the study of ancient texts accessible to Egyptians. This approach was reflected in his twenty-two-volume dictionary, which provided explanations in both Arabic and French, and listed Arabic words corresponding in meaning and pronunciation to hieroglyphs.

Kamal's objective was to raise public awareness among ordinary Egyptians, enabling them to read and study their history and heritage in Arabic. Despite facing resistance from non-Egyptian archaeologists who lacked knowledge of Arabic, Kamal's work had a lasting impact on subsequent scholars such as Antoine Zekry and Ahmed Naguib. Zekry, for instance, followed Kamal's transliteration methodology in his own works, further promoting the use of Arabic in Egyptology.

Kamal also highlighted the cognitive linguistic links between ancient Egyptian and Arabic, albeit unintentionally, demonstrating the survival of ancient Egyptian loanwords in modern Egyptian Arabic. His efforts to establish Egyptology for Egyptians were met with significant challenges due to the colonial environment dominated by British and French control. Nonetheless, Kamal's legacy remains influential, marking a crucial step in the recognition and appreciation of Egypt's ancient linguistic heritage by its own people.

Introduction

Ahmed Kamal Pasha was the first native contemporary Egyptian scholar to study the linguistic roots similarity between the Arabic language and the ancient Egyptian language. This was attested in the twentieth century when he wrote his *Hieroglyphic: French and Arabic Dictionary* that was named by the *Lexique de la Langue égyptienne ancienne*. He was known to be the first native Egyptologist and *Sheikh* of Egyptian Archaeologists. His name is Ahmed Hussein Ahmed, but during his study in the primary school he was named Kamal (meaning perfect in Arabic) because he reflected perfection in combining grand ethics and knowledge.¹

Kamal was raised and educated in Cairo schools during the reign of Khedive Ismail. At the age of thirteen, he joined *Al-Mubtadian* School in Abbasiya, where he studied for four years. In 1867, he moved to *Taghizeia* preparatory school, which now corresponds to the secondary schools, where he stayed for two years as he was selected among ten talented students especially in the French language to join the Ancient Egyptian Language (AEL) School (*Al-Lisan Al-Masry Al-Qadim*) that was opened in 1869.² It was also known by the Brugsch School, established by the German Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch, who is considered a pioneer of the ancient Egyptian language, and he had great influence on Ahmed Kamal Pasha's career.³

As for curriculum and the teachers of this AEL School (1869–1872), we knew that Kamal received lessons from eminent professors as Heinrich Brugsch, Emile Brugsch, Mikhail Effendi, Nazil Jarjas and Sheikh Qenawi in Ancient Egyptian language, history, German language, Abyssinian language, Coptic language and Arabic language.⁴ This wide knowledge of languages was the main support and encouragement to compile, later, his dictionary of ancient Egyptian language. Kamal translated his dictionary into two modern languages: Arabic and French, to encourage Egyptians to take an interest in their linguistic heritage.⁵ Moreover, he showed vast knowledge in Coptic, Greek and Latin in various lexemes, also he depended on the Semitic languages in annotating his translations as the (Hebrew, Aramaic, Assyrian, Syriac, Persian and Abyssinian).⁶ This reflects Kamal abilities as a venerable philologist.⁷

This paper strives to answer the following questions:

1. Why did Kamal transliterate ancient Egyptian words into Arabic letters? Was it related to the nationalism movement in Egypt at that time?
2. Did Kamal interpret Ancient Egyptian (AE) words, using colloquial or classical Arabic?
3. Did Kamal approach the cognitive linguistics in his dictionary?

Ahmed Kamal Pasha's Philological Approach: Arabic transliterates Ancient Egyptian Language

Transliteration is essential in Egyptology when dealing with the ancient Egyptian texts. It is the method of pronouncing the words written in the Egyptian language using alphabet Latin letters, with slight differences.⁸ A century ago, Kamal gained little support for his idea to relate ancient Egyptian language with Arabic, a kindred language from within the same family language, now known as Afro-Asiatic.⁹ He did not use the traditional transliteration of the Latin letters in writing the phonetic pronunciation of the hieroglyphic signs, instead, he had relied on the Arabic. This was an attempt from his side to link between the ancient Egyptian language and the Arabic language in both pronunciation and writing. This way (by using the Arabic letters) was first published in his book in 1885: *El Faraed El Bahia Fe Qawaed El Logha El Hierogliphia* 'The Brilliant Insights into the Grammar of the Hieroglyphic Language'.¹⁰ He believed that the ancient Egyptian language had close similarities with the so-called 'Semitic languages' (Fig. 1).

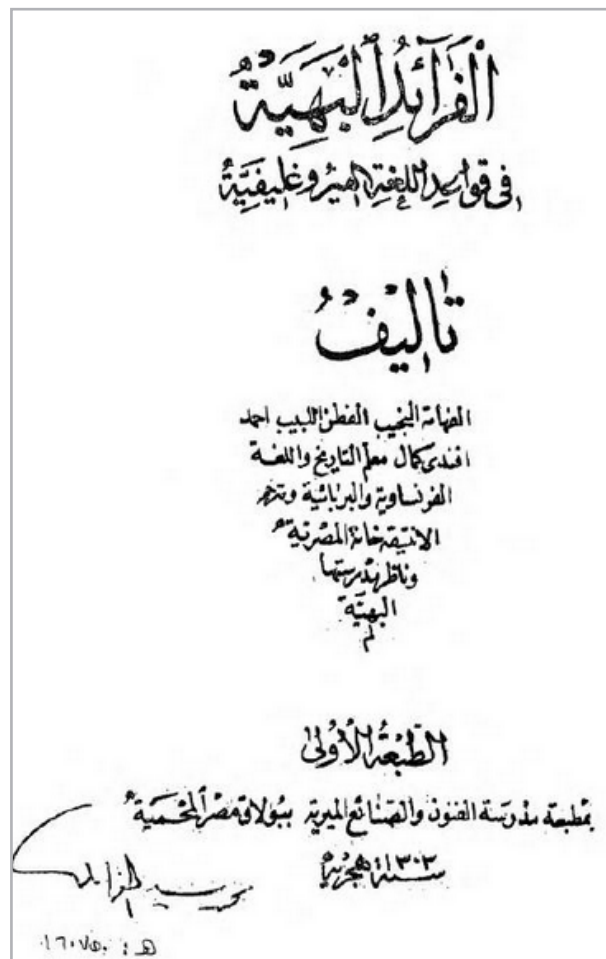


Fig. 1. The book entitled: *El Faraed El Bahia Fe Qawaed El Logha El Hierogliphia*, written by Kamal and published in 1886.

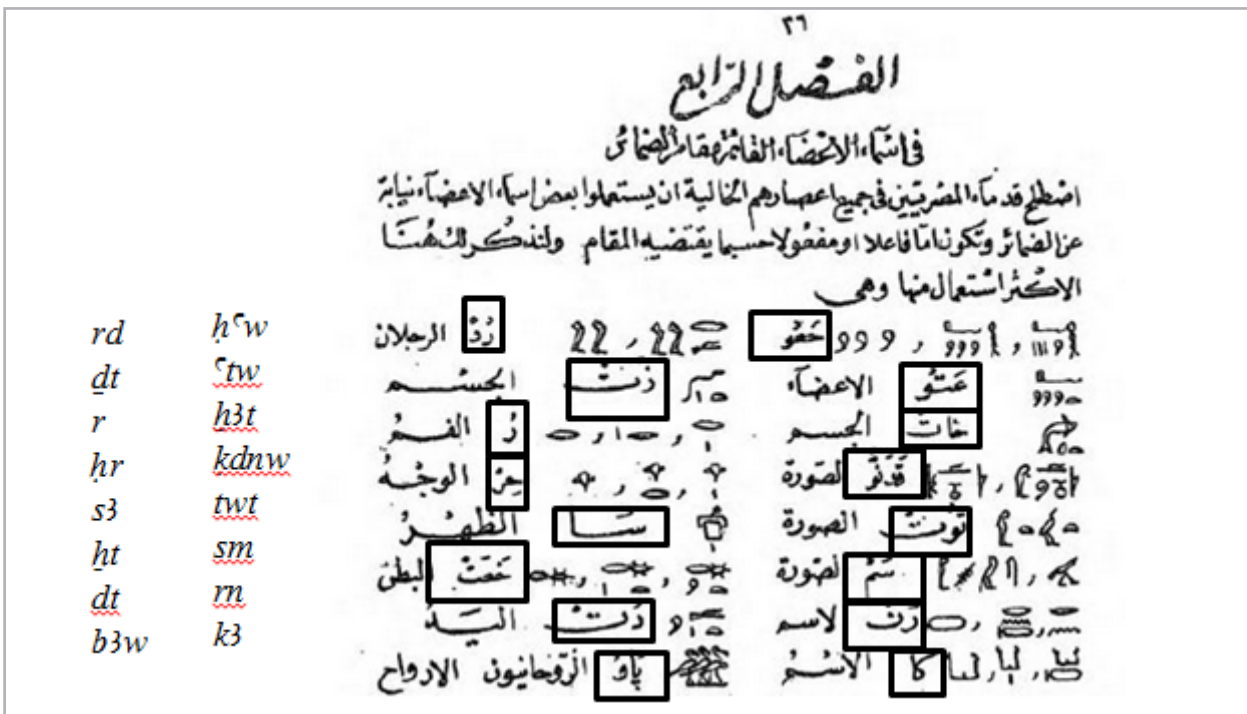


Fig. 2. The use of the Arabic letters instead of the Latin transliteration in Kamal's book: *El Faraed El Bahia Fe Qawaed El Logha El Hieroglyphia* 'The Brilliant Insights into the Grammar of the Hieroglyphic Language', in 1886.

In his book, *El Faraed El Bahia*, composed of 222 pages, Kamal dealt with the rules of the Ancient Egyptian language, its origins and the method of its writing. He proceeded in its classification based on the rules and pronunciation of the Arabic language. At the end of the book, he compiled an index of some important hieroglyphic words with their meanings and their Coptic pronunciation.¹¹

The utmost publication of Kamal was his Dictionary, where he spent his life studying Egyptology aiming to publish it. Yet, it was not published until 2002.¹² The project was launched in the 1900 (?) or a bit earlier during the reign of Khedive Abbas Helmy II (1892–1914). His Dictionary is a valuable resource for researchers, scholars, linguists and philologists. It is a comprehensive resource that goes beyond a simple word definition. The text corpus based on a rich and diverse collection of ancient Egyptian texts ranging from papyri, stela, ostraca, inscriptions on temple walls, statues and funerary monuments.¹³

This Dictionary consists of twenty-two volumes,¹⁴ each volume is dedicated to a hieroglyphic sign. It provides explanations of the hieroglyphic words in both Arabic and French, and at the same time, listing the Arabic words corresponding in meaning and pronunciation to hieroglyphs. Kamal identified 24 uniliteral signs that are the most common hieroglyphic signs and represent a single sound in the first page of the first volume the *Alef*. Yet, it is widely known that he authored twenty-two volumes and not twenty-four.¹⁵ The total number of the pages of the Dictionary is almost 7000 pages, with about 13,000 lexemes.¹⁶



Fig. 3. The 24 uniliteral signs identified by Kamal in vol. 1 of his Dictionary.

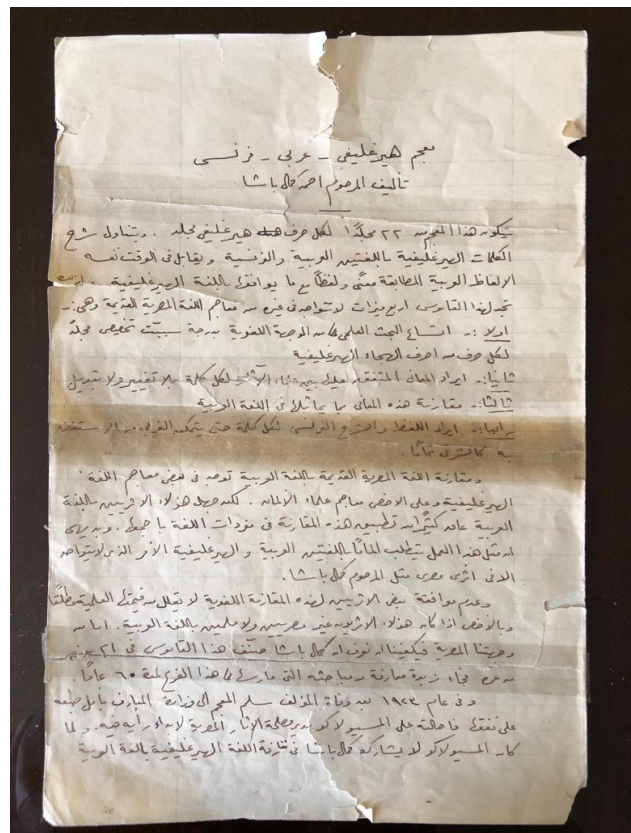


Fig. 4. A document written by Hassan Kamal (?), the son of Ahmed Kamal Pasha, stating the importance of his father's Dictionary.

The total number of volumes was stated in a document written (probably by) Dr. Hassan Kamal, the son of Ahmed Kamal Pasha, he also stated the importance of this dictionary in four main reasons: (1) The expansion of the scientific research from the linguistic point of view, to the extent that each volume is dedicated to a letter or sign of the hieroglyphic alphabet. (2) It includes a list of meanings accepted among linguists of each lemma without any change or alteration. (3) The comparison of these lexemes with their equivalents in the Arabic language. (4) The dictionary includes French translation and explanation for each word, so that the Westerners can benefit from the dictionary as well as Easterners.¹⁷

Kamal used a solid and consistent scientific approach, respecting the Arabic language and considering the phonological rules. He listed each entry in the four scripts of Ancient Egyptian language (Hieroglyphs, Hieratic, Demotic, and Coptic), and its corresponding Arabic word. Then, he included explanations of each entry in French, highlighting the linguistic and philological aspects between the Ancient Egyptian and Arabic language. Each entry gives the most common hieroglyphic form of the word, accompanied by its transliteration (rarely in Latin), translation, references to texts where it occurs, its less usual hieroglyphic variants, and phrases in which it is used.

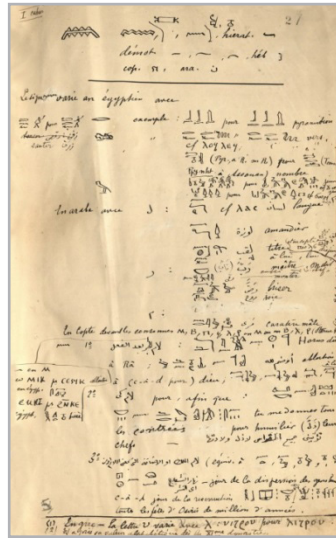


Fig. 5. Kamal's method in writing the initial page of each volume, vol. 8.

At the beginning of each volume, Kamal inserted the hieroglyphic sign at the top of the page, with its different ways of writings, followed by translating the letter into Hieratic, Demotic, Hebrew, Coptic and Arabic (as in the letter *n* in Fig. 5). This is followed by all the lexemes that started with the letter *n* in hieroglyphs. This method was applied in all the volumes written by Kamal.¹⁸

Kamal was trying to find the linguistic roots between the Hieroglyphs and the Arabic. He succeeded to prove that the Ancient Egyptian is a branch of the Afro-Asiatic language family, meaning that ancient Egyptian has similarities to Akkadian, Arabic and Hebrew, and is quite different from Indo-European languages like English, French and German.¹⁹ Kamal was the first Arabic philologist who ascribed the Egyptian dialects to the Arabs throughout (Slang) and (philology).²⁰ That is why Kamal did not use transliteration in his Dictionary except in a very few examples, because he depended on the Arabic letters instead of the usual Latin letters.

Colloquial and Classical Arabic Interpretation of Ancient Egyptian Words

Not only did Kamal succeed in studying the Egyptian colloquial Arabic and its relatives with hieroglyphs, but he also proved that the classical Arabic is also linked with the ancient Egyptian language. He listed hundreds of words to prove his theory. The following words are selected examples to prove his methodology in finding the linguistic roots between the Hieroglyphs and the Classical Arabic language:

- The word or *psg* which means to spit on or spit at.²¹
- The word or *pth* which means found (on the ground), lay down (person carried), stoop (symbol of obedience).²²
- The word or *bk3t* which means a woman who had many children, a pregnant woman.²³
- The word or *b'c'* means stream, water floods the fields, to bathe, to bubble, and in Arabic means the sound of the flooded water.²⁴

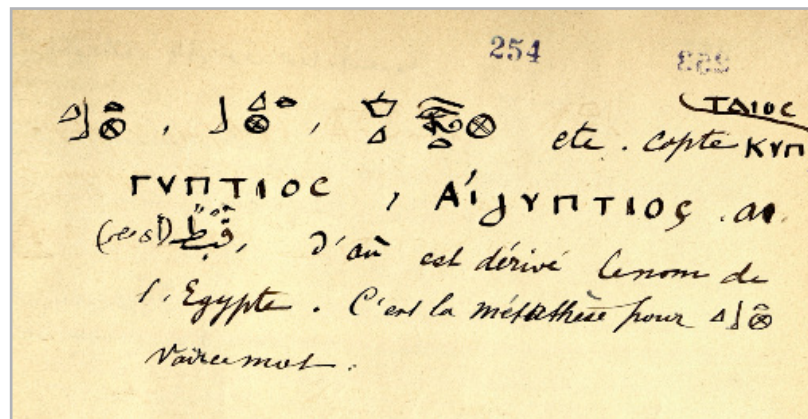
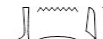




Fig. 6. Kamal's annotations in translating the word *kbt* (Misr), vol 5, p. 254.

- The word  البرني or *bnr* means a good type of red dates impregnated with yellowish, berni palm, berni palm meaning dates.²⁵
- The word  فينيقيا or *fnh.w* 'Phoenicia', means the area between Syria and Palestine.²⁶
- However, misinterpreted some words  قبط or *kbt*, means Egypt (Misr)²⁷ as in the following Figure.²⁸

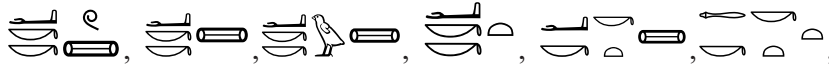
In the meantime, a new approach to translate and understand the Ancient Egyptian language was launched in the 'Ancient Egyptian Tongue School', where both Amr Hawary and Ahmed Osman discussed the methodological approach to utilize Egyptian colloquial Arabic as a source for ancient Egyptian linguistic analysis,²⁹ and to utilize the traces of Ancient Egyptian language in modern spoken Egyptian colloquial Arabic as a source to the understanding of ancient Egyptian language on the semantic and phonological levels. They showed how Kamal was the first to record ancient Egyptian lexical survivals into Egyptian colloquial (slang) Arabic early in the twentieth century. Kamal utilized his own Egyptian colloquial Arabic, as a native speaker, to record inherited lexical items.³⁰ He gave many examples such as the survival of the ancient Egyptian word *si* 'man' through the Coptic stage *ca* that might have encouraged the abbreviation of the Arabic word سَيِّد /*sayed*/ 'master' into the Egyptian colloquial Arabic سي /*si*/.³¹ Also, the ancient Egyptian word *st/zt* ست /*sit*/ woman/female person was also used in Egypt since the Old Kingdom, it is still used in both colloquial and classical Arabic.³² (See pages 74–77).

Worth to mention that Grapow and Erman, in their famous Dictionary *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, followed the steps of Kamal to insert Arabic equivalent of ancient Egyptian words. This means that Kamal inspired the future generation during this time to adopt his philological views.

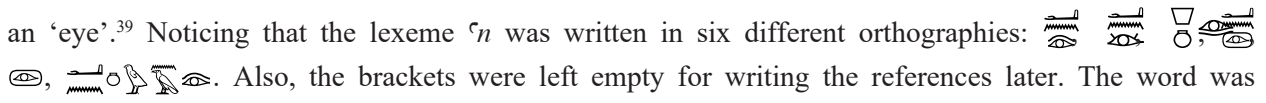

Kamal's Annotations of Semitic Languages³³

Arabic belongs to a group of languages known as the Semitic languages.³⁴ Kamal's knowledge was far beyond the Arabic language. He spent more than twenty years working on his encyclopedia dictionary, focusing on the Semitic affinities of between Arabic and AE.³⁵ As mentioned above, in his Dictionary, he annotated each hieroglyphic word, followed by the French translation, then the Greek, the Coptic, sometimes Hebrew, and finally Arabic. Sometimes, he mentioned the equivalent words in Abyssinian, Syriac, Aramaic

and Assyrian. Kamal was also familiar with the different dialects of the Coptic language: Sahidic, Bohairic, Akhmimic and Fayyumic. This shows how he was an eminent linguistic scholar. Sometimes, we can observe more than eight languages to interpret one entry. For example, in his annotations of the word 'kk which was a kind of Egyptian biscuit,³⁶ Kamal wrote the word 'kk in hieroglyphs in six different orthography:



then he referred to five main references. Then he wrote the translation in Coptic ⲄⲁⲄⲉ, followed by Arabic كعك, then French 'gimblette, pain', which means the ring-biscuit, followed by the Persian translation كك, followed by the Syriac ܟܟܐܘܬܐ, after that he mentioned the Greek κικεῖς and finally he wrote the translation in Syriac language as ܟܟܐܘܬܐ.³⁷ Sometimes the explanation of the vocabulary or the references was incomplete. Here the brackets were left empty, indicating that he did not reach the necessary information at that time.³⁸

Another example that shows his linguistic advantage and his anatomy of each word is in the lexeme an 'eye'.³⁹ Noticing that the lexeme 'n was written in six different orthographies: . Also, the brackets were left empty for writing the references later. The word was translated into Arabic جمع عيون / عين, then translated to French 'œil', then Hebrew עין, followed by the Assyrian translation *inw* . Kamal referred to this word which means beautiful, comely, lovely.

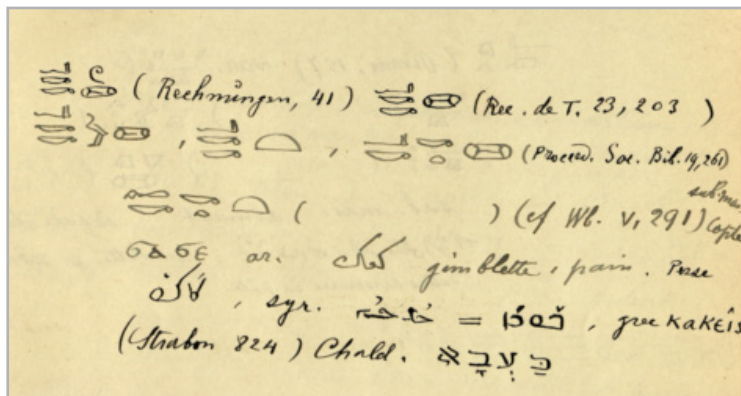


Fig. 7. Kamal annotations of the word 'kk which was a kind of Egyptian biscuit, vol. 3, p. 308.

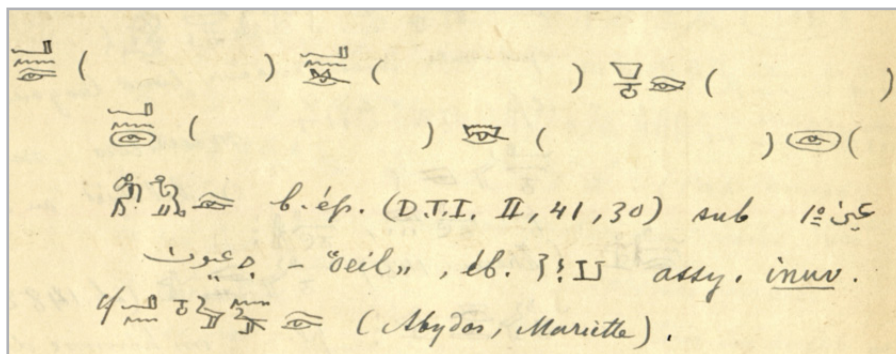


Fig. 8. Kamal annotations of the word 'n meaning the eye, vol. 3, p. 162.⁴⁰

The Reflection of Cognitive Linguistics in Kamal's Approach

There is no doubt that both language and cognition are connected to each other. The cognitive linguistic approach considers an important branch of linguistics that was developed in the 1980s.⁴¹ It aims at explaining language as an integral part of the human intellectual system, so that cognitive linguistics stresses the way that human conceptual categories have their basis in human embodied experience. The lexical semantics consider a main area of interest in cognitive linguistics, and there are several Egyptological studies that referred to these concepts.⁴² Nyord mentioned that the basic concept in cognitive linguistics is that semantic structure equals a conceptual structure. For example, in Egyptian hieroglyph one sign equals one meaning, by consequence the lexical items form conceptual categories.⁴³

He also added that a lexical prototype item is the central member of which there is no doubt that it refers to such category. For example, the building conceptual category can be referred to a house or a temple. Therefore, the prototypical members are particularly good examples of the category of which they form a prototype. In the meantime, when conceptual category includes different but semantically related lexemes, it would lead to a polysemy.⁴⁴ For example, Nyord argued that the meanings of the verb *fh* 'release', 'leave', 'destroy', etc., can be understood as a what he called 'radial structure' or the extended meaning. It means deriving meanings from the same model verb.⁴⁵

Similarly, Kamal applied the cognitive linguistics principles in his dictionary.⁴⁶ Kamal inserted the verb *fh*⁴⁷ (vol. 6, p. 39) and drove several meanings that were used in Ancient Egypt. Then, he assimilates its phonetic pronunciation to the Arabic word فكك, فكك.

Kamal also mentioned the lexical prototype *hbs*⁴⁸ 'to clothe, to cover, to protect' (vol. 11, p. 155). Thus, it is noted that the prototype of this verb is 'to clothe', however, it has a radial structure. The verb *hbs* could be interpreted to 'bear a fan',⁴⁹ a 'lid',⁵⁰ veiled one (a priest), and veiled one (a priestess).⁵¹

Nationalism vs Colonialism: Struggle to Egyptianizing/Arabizing Egyptology

Indeed, Kamal accumulated a profound knowledge of Ancient Egyptian language and related languages in the ancient Middle East. He had the ability to explain the ancient Egyptian language in a simplified manner for the general public. He delivered many public lectures, authored books, published scholarly articles, and also translated specialized books from French into Arabic.⁵² Meanwhile, the Egyptian Revolution of 1919, headed by the famous national leader Saad Zaghloul, created a wide wave of resistance to new colonialism, thus, more respect and appreciation were paid to the Egyptian national heritage and antiquities. As a result, the Egyptian Government nominated Ahmed Kamal to represent the Egyptian Government in the Centennial Ceremony of deciphering ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphs in Paris 1922, that was organized by the Royal Asiatic Society.⁵³

Moreover, Kamal's methodology of teaching ancient Egyptian language was based on the direct reading of the resources of different artifacts from various historical periods. This concept was well reflected in his introduction of his book *El Faraed El Bahia Fe Qawaed El Logha El Hieroglyphia* (see above). Unfortunately, Kamal's attempts to print his Dictionary all failed. He had to struggle against the colonial agenda and their objectives. Since he was graduated from the 'School of Ancient Egyptian Tongue'

in 1873, he was supposed to work in the Service des Antiquités,⁵⁴ yet he was prevented from working as it was monopolized by foreigners (particularly French⁵⁵ and English archaeologists). In this regard, Quirke showed his surprise when Khedive Tawfik was convinced by his advisors to appoint Gaston Maspero in 1881 as Director of Services des Antiquités.⁵⁶ At that time, Kamal was working in the Ministry of Education as a teacher of the German language, then was a French translator in the Ministry of Finance, but his passion for antiquities made him leave that job when the first opportunity came to work in the Service des Antiquités and joined the job of a clerk after he showed his knowledge of antiquities. Later he was appointed the position of translator and teacher of ancient languages at the Egyptian Museum.⁵⁷ Kamal had to confront Daressy when Grébaut wanted to replace Borian, who retired, with Daressy in his position as Assistant Curator in the Service des Antiquités in 1887. Ahmed Kamal felt this was unjust, as he believed that, as a native Egyptologist, he should have been appointed to the position.⁵⁸ Referring to the National Archives of Egypt, an important document mentioned Ahmed Kamal's complaints about being neglected for the position of curator. He had requested the Minister of Public Works to replace Brugsch at the Service des Antiquités, as follows:⁵⁹

Memorandum

There is a French General Director of the Service des Antiquités (The Antikhana), a Prussian curator, and two assistant curators: the first is French, and the second is Egyptian. The former is me. I have been informed that the general secretary, Mr. Brugsch, will soon leave his position, either immediately or after returning from his leave. The General Director prefers that Mr. Brugsch subtly present his resignation without my knowledge. This way, he can either appoint a new French secretary, claiming the candidate possesses unique expertise—a common tactic—or promote Mr. Daressy, the current sous-secretary, to the position of general secretary.

I believe I deserve this position for the following reasons: first, I have been working for 21 years, whereas Mr. Daressy has only 6 years of experience, and we have the same level of knowledge. Additionally, I have the advantage of being a native Arabic speaker. Second, Mr. Daressy does not possess any specialized diploma in Egyptology. Third, his father is an antiquarian in France, which disqualifies him from being a general secretary. Fourth, the Egyptian Museum is a national institution, and having a non-native secretary hinders Egyptians from learning more about their history.

My appointment as curator of the Egyptian Museum does not conflict with the interests of either France or England, as neither French nor English archaeologists have been disadvantaged since the establishment of the Service des Antiquités (The Antikhana).

Your command is obeyed

Ahmed Kamal

Later, by 1891, Kamal was appointed as assistant curator at the Service des Antiquités.⁶⁰ Kamal's main struggle was due to his methodology and his unsuccessful attempts to establish Egyptology in a foreign-dominated environment. This took place during the decades of the British military, economic and political control, as well as French control of the Egyptian Service des Antiquités.⁶¹ Georges Daressy, the secretary general of the Service des Antiquités noted that Kamal had some assertions which cannot be accepted by Egyptologists because of giving hieroglyphic signs several different Arabic transliterations

and switching their order as needed.⁶² For example, in the magazine *Al-Muqtataf* (المقتطف), dated 1 March 1914, Kamal mentioned that upon a closer and deep study of both Arabic and AE, he realized a vibrant relationship that deepens and clarifies our understating of the history of Arabic language and AE development.⁶³

Daressy declared that Kamal had ignored historical contexts of hieroglyphic words and exaggerated the influence of Semitic languages, including the Arabic on ancient Egypt.⁶⁴ Yet, Kamal tried to defend his point of view by publishing an article entitled: *‘Réponse à la critique de M. Daressy publiée dans le Bulletin de l’Institut Égyptien’* as a response to the criticism of Georges Daressy of his article published in March 1917. Kamal stated: *‘Dans sa critique, M. Daressy ne se contente pas de faire des observations sur des points qui lui ont semblé faux ou mal fondés, irréguliers ou mal raisonnés, mais par des attaques très vives, il attire l’attention des égyptologues et les avertit de se tenir en garde contre mes idées, qui lui paraissent incorrectes ; il les invite à considérer la nouvelle méthode que j’ai préconisée et que j’ai eu tant de peine à établir dans l’intérêt de la science, comme nulle et non-avenue’*.⁶⁵

Comparisons between the Ancient Egyptian language with the Arabic language is found in some hieroglyphic dictionaries, especially those compiled by German scholars,⁶⁶ However, the ignorance of these archaeologists regarding the Arabic language hindered a lot from applying this comparison in the vocabulary of the language. Obviously, such work requires, mainly, knowledge of both Arabic and hieroglyphs, and a combination that was uniquely possessed by an Egyptian scholar like Ahmed Kamal. The disapproval of some archaeologists for this linguistic comparison does not diminish its scientific value, particularly considering that these archaeologists were non-Egyptians and lacked knowledge of the Arabic language.

Definitely, Ahmed Kamal inspired the generations who came after him. His approach to spreading the knowledge of Ancient Egyptian language was emulated by Egyptian scholars such as Antoine Zekry (1900–1950). He served as the librarian of the Egyptian Museum and published a book entitled *Key to Ancient Egyptian Languages* in 1924. In his book, Zekry followed Ahmed Kamal's methodology by transliterating hieroglyphic words into Arabic letters. Additionally, he included a dictionary at the end of his book with entries in hieroglyphic-Arabic-French, along with Coptic entries (Fig. 9).

In this regard, we should mention the efforts of Bibliotheca Alexandrina Writing and Scripts Center in promoting the use of Arabic in Egyptology. In 2015, the Writing and Scripts Center launched an e-learning website that advanced the study of the Ancient Egyptian language through an Arabic-based curriculum. The main goal of this website is to provide a dependable Arabic-language resource for aspiring Egyptologists to comprehend and master the writing systems of ancient Egypt.⁶⁷



Fig. 9. The cover of the book: *Key of Ancient Egyptian Language*, by Antoine Zekry.

Conclusion

Kamal was the first native Egyptologist to explore the philological connections between Ancient Egyptian language and Egyptian Arabic (both colloquial and classical). In our opinion, Kamal's method to transliterate Egyptian Hieroglyphs in Arabic letters is based on the phonetic affinity between Egyptian Hieroglyphs and Arabic. Non-native Arabic speakers can find difficulties in pronouncing certain letters, for instance, ا, ء, ع, غ, خ, ح, ه, ه, ح, ه, ح, ه. Meanwhile, the Egyptian, both ancient and modern, could read it smoothly.

Moreover, Kamal's main objective of publishing his Dictionary and other studies, was to raise public awareness among ordinary Egyptians, encouraging them to read and study their own history. Therefore, they could read about their culture and heritage in Arabic, and study their ancient language through Arabic transliteration. However, Kamal also provided a French translation for each entry, allowing non-Arabic speakers to understand the suggested meaning.

In addition, it is noted that Kamal's Arabic publications (as mentioned above) included Arabic transliterations of Egyptian hieroglyphs. This confirms that his approach was intentional and influential among his Egyptian colleagues, such as Antoine Zekry and Ahmed Naguib.

Indeed, Kamal's theory on the similarities and linguistic links between the Ancient Egyptian language and the Semitic languages was revolutionary at that time. Many loan words from Ancient Egyptian language still survive in Egyptian Arabic,⁶⁸ demonstrating its profound influence on the development of the language.⁶⁹ In terms of cognitive linguistics, which focuses on cognitive (semantic) explanations for lexical semantics, Kamal referred to this discipline, although he did not do so intentionally.

Finally, Kamal was a victim of the unfair committee. He had faced many struggles to establish Egyptology for Egyptians in an unfriendly colonial environment during the decades of British military, economic and political control, and French control of the Egyptian Antiquities Service. In fact, 6 August 2023, witnessed 100 years of the death of Ahmed Kamal Pasha, the first Arab historian of Egyptian Antiquities. Due to this important date, the Bibliotheca Alexandrina has celebrated this event on the occasion of documenting, digitizing and restoring the whole volumes of the Dictionary, that were donated to the Bibliotheca Alexandrina by Kamal's grandson in September 2020.

Endnotes

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- 1 Personal communication with Eng. Abdel Hamid Kamal, his grandson.
 - 2 For additional information about Kamal's career see L.M. Saied, *Kamal and Youssef: Two Archaeologists from the Beautiful Time* (Cairo, 2002), 29–31 (in Arabic).
 - 3 D.M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley, 2002), 235.
 - 4 E.F. Yehia, 'Educational Institutions of Egyptology in Egypt the 1865–1928', *JFTH* 14 (2) (2017), 68; I. Abdel Moatamed, E. Fares, M. Atef, 'Egyptology Schools in Egypt during the Nineteenth Century', *Minia Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research* 9 (1) (2020), 38–44.
 - 5 Yehia, *JFTH* 14 (2), 72.
 - 6 B. El-Sharkawy, 'Ahmed Pasha Kamal's Dictionary: Between the Results of the Individual and Group Efforts of Dictionaries of the Ancient Egyptian Language', *al-Muqtataf al-Masry* (June 2010), 102–103 (in Arabic).
 - 7 B. El-Qobiesy, 'Ahmed Kamal Pasha: The Philologist of Egyptian Hieroglyphs', *Abgadiyat* 6 (2011), 34.
 - 8 W. Schenkel, *Einführung in Die altägyptische Sprachwissenschaft* (Darmstadt, 1990), 25.
 - 9 H. Rashwan, *Rediscovering Ancient Egyptian Literature through Arabic Poetics* (Cairo, 2023).
 - 10 B. El Sharkawi, 'Ahmed Kamal Pasha (1851–1923) Steps to His Ancient Egyptian Dictionary: Chronological-Statistical Study', *Abgadiyat* 6 (2011), 45–46.
 - 11 A. Kamal, *El Faraed El Bahia Fe Qawaed El Logha El Hieroglyphia* (Cairo, 1886).
 - 12 The Supreme Council of Antiquities in Cairo printed the volumes on the occasion of 100 years on the inauguration of the Egyptian Museum Cairo (1902–2002). They were published consecutively from 2002 until 2010, despite being a draft rather than a final manuscript of the ancient Egyptian dictionary with no index or corrections. See A. Kamal, *Makhtut Mu'jam al-lugha al-misriya al-qadimah : Manuscrit lexique de la langue égyptienne ancienne* (Cairo, 2002).
 - 13 It was not the only dictionary written during that time. The *Wörterbuch Der Aegyptischen Sprache* was launched in 1897 by Erman during the reign of Wilhelm II. It took the team almost twenty years to write the five main volumes. It is considered the main bibliographic reference for the Ancient Egyptian language. By stating this we do not mean to demean the work of Sir E.A. Wallis Budge, whose huge single volume of 1356 pages, *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, was published in London in 1920. The first volume of the *Wörterbuch* was published in Berlin in 1926, only six years later. As the *Wörterbuch* continued to appear over the subsequent decades, it is looked upon as more up-to-date and reliable than Budge's dictionary. One of the reasons why Budge's dictionary is not preferred by many Egyptologists is because he does not use the conventional transliteration system, and uses far more English letters instead, qualified by vowel markings where necessary.
 - 14 In September 2020, the Bibliotheca Alexandrina received the Dictionary: Hieroglyphic-Arabic manuscript from Ahmed Kamal Pasha's family to be restored, digitized, and displayed in the Manuscript Museum and then to be studied by the Academic Research Team in Writing and Scripts Center. Eighteen volumes were donated by the family of Ahmed Kamal Pasha and three volumes were donated by the Egyptian researcher Francis Amin that included one draft red volume. Two volumes are still missing (the letters *h* and *d*), although the letter *h* was printed by the Supreme Council of Antiquities, but it seems that it was lost.
 - 15 This is because Kamal had combined the letters *b* and *p* together in one volume, and the letters *r* and *l* in another volume.
 - 16 Elsharkawy, *Abgadiyat* 6, 57.
 - 17 This document was written after Kamal's death and it is still with the family. It was probably written by his elder son, where it includes two pages: the first page, Hassan discussed the importance of the dictionary; while in the second page he wrote about his attempts to print the dictionary after it was given to the Ministry of Education in anticipation that it would be printed at its expense. (This will be discussed later).
 - 18 It is worth mentioning that his middle daughter Tafidah had a great role in writing the dictionary. Indeed, she wrote the Arabic and the French translations for this manuscript, while Kamal

- drew the hieroglyphs and wrote the other ancient languages. Personal communication with Tafidah's granddaughter: Mrs Fadia Fahim.
- 19 For a statistical analysis of Kamal dictionary entries, see B. El-Sharkawy, 'Ahmed Pacha Kamal: The Pioneer of Archaeological Enlightenment', *al-Muqtataf al-Masry* (March 2010), 92–102.
 - 20 El-Qobiesy, *Abgadiyat* 6, 33–43.
 - 21 *Wb* 1, 555.4–14; *FCD* 95; *MedWb* 298; vgl. *KoptHWb* 159; Kamal, *Makhtuṭ Mu'jam al-lugha al-misriya al-qadimah*, vol. 5, 117.
 - 22 https://www.bibalex.org/learnhieroglyphs/Dictionary/PhoneticSearch_Ar.aspx?phoneticSequence=ptx&position=any; Kamal, *Makhtuṭ Mu'jam al-lugha al-misriya al-qadimah*, vol. 5, 142.
 - 23 *Wb* 1, 481.12–13; Kamal, *Makhtuṭ Mu'jam al-lugha al-misriya al-qadimah*, vol. 5, 177.
 - 24 *Wb* 1, 447.1–4; Allen, *Inflection*, 577; *KoptHWb* 20; Kamal, *Makhtuṭ Mu'jam al-lugha al-misriya al-qadimah*, vol. 5, 187.
 - 25 https://www.bibalex.org/learnhieroglyphs/Dictionary/PhoneticSearch_Ar.aspx?phoneticSequence=bnr&position=any; <https://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/arar/%D8%A8%D8%B1%D9%86%D9%8A/?c=%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B9%D8%AC%D9%85%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%88%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%B7>; Kamal, *Makhtuṭ Mu'jam al-lugha al-misriya al-qadimah*, vol. 5, 197.
 - 26 *Wb* 1, 577.3–4; *FCD* 98; *LÄ* IV, 1039; Kamal, *Makhtuṭ Mu'jam al-lugha al-misriya al-qadimah*, vol. 5, 295.
 - 27 Kamal, *Makhtuṭ Mu'jam al-lugha al-misriya al-qadimah*, vol. 5, 254.
 - 28 Kamal should translate this word to be Coptos 'Qift', 'Qena Governorate'. It considers the gate to the Eastern Desert in ancient Egypt. *Wb* 5, 163.1; *GDG* V, 173; *LÄ* III, 737 ff. Indeed, Kamal mentioned the correct interpretation of such word as 'Coptos'. See Kamal, *Makhtuṭ Mu'jam al-lugha al-misriya al-qadimah*, vol. 19, 127.
 - 29 A. Osman, *A Methodological Approach to Utilize Egyptian Colloquial Arabic as a Source for Ancient Egyptian Linguistic Analysis* (Master's thesis, the American University in Cairo, 2021). AUC Knowledge Fountain.
 - 30 Osman, *A Methodological Approach*, 15.
 - 31 Osman, *A Methodological Approach*, 39.
 - 32 *Wb* 3, 406.13–407.8; *FD*, 206; *CDD* S, 1.
 - 33 The Semitic languages are a branch of the Afroasiatic language family. They include Arabic, Amharic, Hebrew, and numerous other ancient and modern languages.
 - 34 See J. Owens, *The Oxford Handbook of Arabic Linguistics* (Oxford, 2013).
 - 35 D.M. Reid, 'Indigenous Egyptology: The Decolonization of a Profession?', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (2) (1985), 237.
 - 36 Kamal, *Makhtuṭ Mu'jam al-lugha al-misriya al-qadimah*, vol. 3, 308.
 - 37 Kamal, *Makhtuṭ Mu'jam al-lugha al-misriya al-qadimah*, vol. 5, 254.
 - 38 Kamal depended on various references when listing the translations of the hieroglyphic words, as texts on statues, papyri, or books of eminent professors as Maspero, Mariette, Brugsch, Budge, and many others.
 - 39 Kamal, *Makhtuṭ Mu'jam al-lugha al-misriya al-qadimah*, vol. 3, 162.
 - 40 From the details provided: there are two volumes for the letter 'a', 'ع'. Volume 1: was donated to the Bibliotheca Alexandrina by Kamal's family. Volume 2: was donated to the BA by Dr. Francis Amin and was printed by the Supreme Council of Antiquities. These details highlight the origins and the contributors associated with both volumes, ensuring proper acknowledgment and traceability within the BA collection.
 - 41 Cognitive Linguistics appeared in the 1970s, and has been a growing discipline since the 1980s. There are three main theories that guide Cognitive Linguistics as an approach to language research: (1) language is not an autonomous cognitive faculty, (2) grammar is conceptualization, and (3) knowledge of language emerges from language use. See H. Said, *A Cognitive Linguistic Study of Cultural Models of Age in American English and Egyptian Arabic: A Corpus-based Approach English and Egyptian Arabic: A Corpus-based Approach* 2017 (Master's thesis, American University in Cairo, 2017). AUC Knowledge Fountain, 9.
 - 42 E.S. Lincke, F. Kammerzell, 'Egyptian Classifiers at the Interface of Lexical Semantics and Pragmatics', in E. Grossman, S. Polis, and J. Winand (eds.),

- Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica* Band 9, *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian* (Hamburg, 2012), 55–112.
- 43 R. Nyord, 'Prototype Structures and Conceptual Metaphor Cognitive Approaches to Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian', in E. Grossman, S. Polis, and J. Winand (eds.), *Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica* Band 9, *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian* (Hamburg, 2012), 142.
- 44 Nyord, in Grossman, Polis, and Winand (eds.), *Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica* Band 9, *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, 144.
- 45 R. Nyord, 'Cognitive Linguistics', in J. Stauder-Porchet, A. Stauder and W. Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2015). <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002k44p6>.
- 46 One example is given here to testify this theory, as there will be a detailed and separate study for this part.
- 47 *Wb* 1, 578.6–15; *FCD* 98; Lesko, *Dictionary* I, 191.
- 48 *Wb* 3, 64.3–65.17; *Wb* 1, 467.10; 3, 65.17.
- 49 *Wb* 1, 467.5; 3, 65.15.
- 50 *Wb* 3, 66.16–18; Lesko, *Dictionary* II, 107.
- 51 *Wb* 3, 66.21–22.
- 52 Kamal was keen to translate the catalogues of the newly opened museum at the time. For example, he translated the catalogue of the Graeco-Roman Museum (1892) from French into Arabic. To view a list of his publications see Saied, *Kamal and Youssef*, 126–132.
- 53 Egyptian National Archive, Doc. No.: 0075–0190732322.
- 54 S. Quirke, 'Exclusion of Egyptians in English-Directed Archaeology 1882–1922 Under British Occupation of Egypt', in S. Bickel, *et al.* (eds.), *Ägyptologen und Ägyptologien zwischen Kaiserreich und gründung der beiden Deutschen staaten: Reflexionen zur geschichte und episteme eines altertumswissenschaftlichen fachs im 150 jahr der Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Berlin, 2013), 394–395.
- 55 The French were the only foreign nationalities who had official archaeological institutions in Egypt. They founded the IFAO in 1880, besides their control on top positions in Services des Antiquités.
- 56 Quirke, *Exclusion of Egyptians in English-directed Archaeology*, 382.
- 57 Saied, *Kamal and Youssef*, 29–31.
- 58 Egyptian National Archive, Doc. No.: 0075–0353662323 c.
- 59 Egyptian National Archive, Doc. No.: 0075–035432323.
- 60 Reid, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 105 (2), 188.
- 61 R. Bassiouney, *Arabic Sociolinguistics* (Edinburgh, 2020), 308–309.
- 62 H. Rashwan, 'Intellectual Decolonization and Harmful Nativism: Arabic Knowledge Production of Ancient Egyptian Literature', *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* (2022), 11.
- 63 *Al-Muqtataf Magazine*, Issue no. 43, vol. 3 (March 1914).
- 64 Reid, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 105 (2), 211.
- 65 A. Kamal, 'Réponse à la critique de M. Daressy', *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien* (mars 1917), *BIE*: sér. 5, t. 11. 1917 (1918), 325–338.
- 66 In the *Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache's* index, there is a list of 67 Arabic words, 200 words in Hebrew, and some words in Amharic, Aramaic, Assyrian and Babylon that were mentioned in the five volumes of the dictionary. This affirms that the methodology of Kamal about the influence of Semites, including the Arabs on ancient Egypt was totally correct and this was done later by the German scholars. *Wb* 6, 241–244. (Erman and Grapow 1926–1931, vol. 6, 242).
- 67 https://www.bibalex.org/learnhieroglyphs/lesson/Introduction_En.aspx; A. Mansour and A. Ezzat, 'The Crucial Role of e-Learning in the Promotion of Egyptology: Hieroglyphs: Step by Step Website as a Case Study', in G. Rosati and M.C. Guidotti (eds.), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists* (Florence, 2015), 362–367.
- 68 See A. Osman, 'Studying Ancient Egyptian Substratum Interference of Egyptian Arabic: Limitations and Prospects', the current issue of *Abgadiyat*.
- 69 It is worth mentioning that the spoken Arabic language in Egypt is Egyptian Arabic, which is one of many Arabic dialects used across Arab countries.